1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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construction and design similar to the penis-wrapper, though rarely more than an inch wide and long enough to reach round the waist. The plaited belt is tied at the side and its tassels fall half-way down the thigh. This constitutes full adult male dress. On important ritual occasions the place of the bark-board belt is taken by a belt of similar dimensions made of a light brown, almost whitish fibre, the ends of which are laced together when in position on the body.[1]

The women's dress is simpler, consisting mainly of a narrow mat-skirt (made of similar material to the men's penis-wrappers and plaited belts and similarly dyed), ten to twelve inches broad, wrapped round the pudenda and buttocks. There are several types of these, used for every-day wear and ritual occasions.

The Oba *mal-mal*, a yet more finely woven mat worn by men apron-wise from the waist downwards, is not worn in the Small Islands save at the time of the return of youths from the pilgrimage which they undertake to that island for the sake of Initiation into Sex, described in Chapter XX.

Personal decorations.

As ornaments the women often wear long strings of pierced shell beads (*na-sum*) such as are used elsewhere in Melanesia as money, as well as small but very dainty bracelets made of turbo shell called *na-lel*. Young men as a rule go unadorned, but old men wear as bracelets the tusks of circle-tusker pigs[2] that they have sacrificed, filled in at the end with fibre, and often worn yellow with age. On ritual occasions, apart from the numerous ferns, leaves and feathers which men wear in their hair and tucked into their bark-board belts, the chief ornaments are the arm-badges (*na-mban*) worn by both sexes, but particularly by men, made of white and black beads, the former of sea-shell and the latter of coconut-shell, arranged in geometric designs.[3] On ordinary working days these are not worn. Even so, however, we can tell at a glance quite a lot about the personal history of each individual we meet. Leaves or feathers placed in the hair afford us, both from their species and from minute variations in their position on the head, information on quite a variety of subjects: in the case of a young man, whether, for instance, he has recently returned from his first visit to Oba, Raga or Ambrim, or whether or no he has succeeded in finding a lover after this expedition. Others may wear similar decorations slightly differently placed to in-

[1] Native terms used in Atchin will be given in a later volume. Nowadays, as a concession to white influence and because they genuinely seem to like it, some of the young men have adopted the fashion of wearing in addition white cotton or linen squares tied triangle-wise round the bottom of the bark-board belt in such a way that the apex of the triangle just covers the testicles. Leather belts are also frequently worn in place of the plaited and dyed tassel-belts.

[2] See pp. 243 ff. [3] See Plate XX.

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dicate that they have recently taken part in a certain type of Maki rite, or that they have secretly carried out a certain act of sorcery against persons unknown—a cheap type of self-advertisement apt, however, to be imitated by those only wishing to gain a reputation for occult power; or an old man may by similar means demonstrate to an admiring world the fact that he has sacrificed more than one home-bred circle-tusker.[1]

Forms of greeting.

Before reaching the village the average native knows from footprints who has already returned, for each man's footprints are known. In the case of a woman, it is more than likely that he knows also, from the impress of her foot, what load she has been carrying.

Meeting an individual or a party on the path, there is little need to speculate whither they come, for the polite formula of greeting is, "Where have you come from?" or "Where are you going?" Nor, under ordinary circumstances, will the question be evaded, since not only is it the custom to tell, but it would also be futile to conceal, since so many indications, as well as the publicity under which all members of the community live, make checking up on any individual's whereabouts easy. Gossip, too, spreads quickly and surely, and only sorcerers and adulterers have real need to conceal their movements.

Fire-making.

Once home, the first concern is the cooking of the evening meal, the most important in the day, since breakfast consists usually of bits left over from the night before, and the midday meal is made of yams roasted over an open fire close to the gardens where they work. Each house has in it an earth-oven, a simple hole dug in the ground. In this a fire burns all night, for warmth and to keep off stray ghosts. It also serves to keep away mosquitoes. Strong eyes are needed to resist the pungent, ubiquitous smoke whose only exit is through the interstices of the rain-proof thatched roof.

Fires rarely go out, since embers are carefully preserved. When new fire is needed, however, either at home or always when abroad, it must be made by the "plough" method. A flat soft-wood board is placed on the ground, and the fire-maker keeps this in place by kneeling on the nearer end, while, with a hard-wood stick about eight inches long gripped in both hands, he rubs backwards and forwards with it till a groove is formed in the board. This movement begins comparatively slowly, till the soft wood-dust formed by the friction begins to gather at the further end of the groove. Then the movement becomes faster and faster, till the increased friction results in a minute smouldering spark igniting the

[1] Such tuskers are more valuable if bred at home than if acquired by trade (see p. 242).

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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Islands of Malekula there are only two forms of currency, pigs and mats. The mats in question are a special kind called *mangau* [1] (see Plate VI), henceforth referred to as money-mats, made of long strips of plaited material 6 to 8 inches wide, dyed red on a yellow base, with very long fringes on either side. Each mat is rolled up tightly, tied round with a strip of coconut husk, and normally kept hanging in the owner's house, with the long fringes hanging loose. Once rolled, they are never undone, and pass as small currency and complimentary gifts from hand to hand till the long fringes gradually become worn away and the mat finally becomes worthless and must be replaced.[2] These form the small change of native currency. The capital currency is pigs.

Pig currency is based, not on the animal's size or the state of its flesh, but exclusively on the elongation of its tusks. For this reason, sows are not used as currency. Nor is the tusk of a dead boar of any commercial value.[3] For it must be remembered that the prime value of the boar is as a sacrificial animal, and its ultimate worth rests exclusively on this fact, and on the rise in rank that a man achieves through sacrifice. As will be seen later, this rise in rank is exactly correlated with the size of the tusks of the sacrificed boar, and it is on this fact that the graded system is built up. When sacrificed, the tusked jaws of the victims are displayed on booths and otherwise hung up for the admiration of all comers and for the greater honour of the sacrificer. At a yet later stage, when the booths have been dismantled, the sacrificer may extract one of the tusks and wear it on his wrist as a memorial of his exploit. Such display, however, is merely a matter of record and personal vanity, and has no other practical object, since the boar's value as such has ceased once its main object in the eyes of the natives has been achieved, namely its sacrifice and the resulting rise in rank bestowed on the sacrificer. The whole value of the pig lies in its function as a prospective victim. For this reason, a dead boar, or its tusks, are valueless as currency. It is the live pig only that is valued, in proportion to the length of its tusks.

The reason for this, and the means by which the tusked boar is itself

[1] Equivalent to the North Raga *bwana* (Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 385). In Vao they are used also for wrapping up the dead, whence Speiser accounts for their value (see p. 542, note). These mats are quite distinct from the ordinary sleeping-mats called *betura* and the fine mats called *to-mbagha*. For the use of mats as currency elsewhere see Codrington, 3, p. 323, and Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 443.

[2] Specimens of similar money-mats from Atchin are to be seen in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, Layard Collection, Nos. 179 and 181. In that island they are called *ni-mbwen*, the same word as is used for women's mourning-caps. The material from which they are made is strips of pandanus fibre, rather coarser than that used for wearing apparel, and, like the wearing apparel, they are dyed yellow and red with conventionalised designs. No. 181, when unrolled, proved to be 9 feet long. The fringes of a good new mat will hang as much as 3 feet down on either side.

[3] Pigs' jaw-bones are, however, used as currency in the Torres Islands (Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 460).

1: Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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Sacrificers approach dolmen adorned with insignia of rank and carrying a club and wooden pig-killer.

For this purpose he has donned all the insignia proper to his previously acquired rank. In his hair he wears hawks' or cocks' feathers, black or white according to rank, together with red hibiscus flowers and leaves of golden fern. His biceps are adorned with shell-bead armlets worked in geometric designs representing a hawk's face and other symbols, and on his wrists he wears as bracelets the tusks of boars sacrificed on former occasions. His face is painted black. In his left hand he carries a club, and in his right hand a wooden pig-killer (see Plate X, 2) carved out of a forked branch of which the longer arm is the handle and the shorter the striking part which ends bluntly so as to crack the victim's skull or at least stun it so that it can be despatched later. The handle, roughly one foot three inches long, is incised with geometric patterns, and the fork often carved to represent a man's head, of which the prolonged chin stretches towards the striking end. The whole pig-killer is painted red, yellow and blue, and the magnificence of the carving varies with the sacrificer's rank.

Tusked boar sacrificed on dolmen. Its soul enters the sacrificer, whereon he assumes his new title and rank.

I did not myself record the actual position of the boar at the moment of sacrifice. Godefroy, however, describes how it is lifted on to the dolmen, where it is made to stand on its hind-feet, while its fore-feet—its arms as the natives say—rest on the fore-arm of the man about to sacrifice it.[1]

It is at this moment of striking, whether the victim is actually killed on the spot or merely stunned to be despatched later, that the title already bestowed on the tusked boar devolves, with the supposed passage of its soul, upon the sacrificer himself.[2]

Thus, though the sacrificer has already acquired one new title and name by means of the mass sacrifice in the afternoon, he now, by this yet more holy act, acquires a second, this time of high rank, and, as he sacrifices, he calls out, in a loud voice so that all can hear, his new title together with his new name, saying "*Ne-haku* M . . ." "My name is M . . ."[3]

The victim is not eaten by the sacrificer but by a member of another village, most probably, as will be seen later, by the mother's brother.[4]

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 37. [2] See p. 258.
[3] For new titles and names so taken, see pp. 431 ff.
[4] See p. 725. The only record I have is of boars sacrificed at Pete-hul being taken to Peter-ihi.

3: Harrisson N-5 (1934-1935) 1936
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but there is a big range of inter-tribal difference; take several islands and the variety is great. Curved houses seem to be found only in south Malekula, Ureparapara of the Banks (*cf.* Speiser, 1913, Pl. 15), and the southern islands of the group, an extraordinary distribution. To understand the development and organization of the village only structurally, a full study of each particular unit is necessary.

Speiser (1913) has said something of the distribution of stone works. Stone pudding-basins are confined to Big Bay. I was interested in stone axes, of which I made a considerable collection. Remarkable stone basins, "witching-vats," are confined to Gaua, where Mrs. Baker and I also found a stone effigy (Baker, 1935). In one small area of south-west Santo, around the village of Tavua, the stone axes are entirely distinct from all others in the group, being very slender and long in relation to their breadth. Shell axes do not occur in Santo, but are common in Malekula; in the Big Nambas there are some ritual clubs that seem to be made out of fossilized squid's cuttles, very long and heavy.

War-clubs are curved only in north-east Santo; long stick clubs are confined to the northern islands; paddle clubs characteristic of Malekula are absent on Santo. The Santo and Malo bows are regularly arched; in south and east Malekula the concavity is uneven, greater in the lower half. Feathered spear shafts are apparently confined to north Malekula and islets; fearful spear-tips of serried human bones only in Santo. Feather-shafted arrows I have not seen in Santo, but Speiser reports them from Big Bay, and there are two without locality in the Cambridge Ethnological Museum; in certain *na-leng* dances of north Malekula, feathered arrows are used. Combs worn in the hair show wide pattern range; a triangular form I have only seen on Gaua, and ones with handles decorated by pigs' bristles are confined to Sakau, Santo.

The distribution of *kava* is curious. It has a very local usage in north Malekula, where it is chewed and spat into a trough; is not used in south Malekula; in Sakau, Santo, the stalk is chewed; elsewhere in Santo the root is chewed and spat out into coconut shells (only by chiefs in part of the north-west), except around Turi, where it is absent. In the eastern islands *kava* is generally used green, crushed with a stone pounder. On Malo it is seldom used unless in magical rites.

There is a fair uniformity in the type of mixed bisexual dances connected with the graded society; the musical instruments vary more. Pan-pipes are the most important in north-west Santo; though widespread, these are seldom used for dances elsewhere; they are semi-sacred in central Malekula; into Sakau and Malekula the pan-pipes have been recently introduced. On Malo and in east Santo bamboos beaten on the ground are the main dance accompaniment; the former type is close to a large flute figured by Speiser (1913, Pl. 108). The nose-flute is used in Sakau; musical bow in central-south Malekula. Slit gongs are always upright in the patrilineal central islands, reclined in the northern islands. Sticks tapped together have developed into a dance band in the Big Nambas. Bone knives are common in south Malekula, but nowhere else have I found one; wooden knives are absent in Malekula, crude in Malo and W. Santo, elaborate in the Banks Islands.